pose confidence in me, said this morning very gravely "Now, I jus' tell you;—if they get many more folks "in that old jail, they'll jus' hif the old roof right off, "brupt, and go 'way." Of course I checked with severity this seditious language, but I will not deny that it made some impression upon me. The Charlestown jail is certainly a very infirm establishment. Its walls bespeak decay, and its doors and windows tell of insecurity. The citizens themselves have often spoken of this, and calculated, with some concern, its retentive powers. Since the publication of the plans I sent you, this question has been more than ever con d. A few persons have short-eightedly appre bended that the appearance of those plans might lead to an invasion and an attack which would be the more alarming from the diffusion of this dangerous knowledge. But the more general notion is, that unless the greatest watchfulness is exercised, the prisoners may find some means of escape for themselves. The people here will not admit that such a thing could be accomplished, but they prefer that it should not even be attempted, since it would then become necessary to dispose of the prisoners by shooting them—a very disagreeable contingency, the public opinion having wettled itself strongly in favor of strangulation. Perhape this idea may have contributed somewhat to the waxiety of the people to receive additional military support. I suppose that now, with about a thousand troops coming in from all sides, with a good deal of artillery and some practicable muskets-flint locks having been frowned upon by Col. Davis-it will be a little difficult for Brown and his party to take themwhat would have happened. The wounded prisoners are getting better every day. Even Stephens begins to be quite comfortable under his five beliets. It would be an awkward thing for them to march out some day, and walk quietly up Northward, taking with them, perhaps, Mr. Hunter and one or two other gentlemen, n pursuance of their original plan. As for impedi ments, I do not think there would be any offered by the peop of Charlestown. This would be a deserted village. It should be understood that there are as many as six of Brown's party in captivity. But I am doubtful whether even these could stand against a thousand armed men, brought all the way from Richmend. The precautions have been taken in time, and it is just as well to resign all hope now of the prisoners' escaping by their own efforts.

Col. Davis is once more at case. His dispatches tell him that many troops are burrying to his aid. Gov. Wise is coming, too. I hope he means to depose the Colonel, and assume command himself. None of the extra forces have yet come in, but they are all on their way, so Col. Davis says. I catch whispers of field pieces and cavalry. I wonder what use will be made of them in the event of another fire. And, apropos of the fires, there is a rumor that one incendiary has been detected, but, as he proved on inspection to be a chattel, the discovery has been closely concealed, for the present, at least. Other chattels might hear, and profit by the example.

WHAT GOV. WISE IS TO ENCOUNTER.

Mr. Harding is looking eagerly for the Governor's arrival. He has a little account to settle with him, he says. Mr. Harding, you may remember, was most viclently opposed to the suspension of Stephens's trial, which happened in consequence of the Governor' suggestion. He protested vehemently against it, and insisted that the protest should be entered upon the records of the Court, in return for which Judge Parker obbed him. But Mr. Harding was not to be allayed. The lawyers kept shutting him up; but, like the toy figures which are propelled from boxes to frighten children, the moment they left him, he would burst forth again. He fulminated terrible threats. He with very profane emphasis that Stephens especially venomous upon Gov. Wise. He wanted to sed Wise, that was all. He had a rod in pickle for Wise. He guessed Wise would bark his shins, if he undertook to climb over him. But give him a chance at Wise, and there would be music. Well, his opportunity is coming, and he professes great satisfaction. Some people say that his ardor will be dead cold by the time the Governor arrives, but he says not. think it will depend very much upon the time of day that they chance to meet. Mr. Harding is always bolder toward night than in the morning. In the evening be is leonine; in the morning, foxy. It was in evening that he fought the blind man. I want very THE ALARMS.

Whence all the appulling rumors that come floating in proceed, nobody knows. As fast as one explodes, a dozen take its place. I think they rise spontaneously in this community. Their number and variety are greater than I can convey to you; but as they are all doubtless without ground, it would hardly be worth while to repeat them. At present they are in fullest force, with no immediate prospect of decline.

The first installment of uniforms is expected to-mor

THE VIRGINIA PANIC.

A correspondent of The Bultimore American writes from Charlestown, Nov. 19, as follows:

from Charlestown, Nov. 19, as follows:

"Various rumors have been in circulation for the past few days in regard to an attempted rescue, by Nortbern fanatice, of Brown and his fellow-prisoners, but nothing reliable has been obtained, although it is believed by many intelligent and knowing gentlemen that the attempt will be made. Among these is Andrew Hunter, esq., whose position and opportunities for knowing all that is transpiring render an opinion from him of much weight. A letter was received a few days ago by this gentleman, addressed to John Brown, post-marked Oberlin, Ohio. The letter was written in characters, but was deciphered by an intelligent lady of our town. It bid him be of good cheer, as his friends would be dropping in one by one. The letter was of course not given to Brown, and is now in possession of Mr. Hunter. Letters are received daily by many of our officials and citizens, some of which are many of our officials and citizens, some of which are insulting in the extreme, while others only excite a smile of contempt for the miserable Northern fanatics who seek by threats to intimidate presents in official

"The feeling in favor of Cook, which was quite ap-"The feeling in favor of Cook, which was quite apparent at the time of bis conviction, has changed greative on account of recent events, and his punishment with the others is now demanded by the great majority of our citizens. It is understood that Gov. Willard is with Gov. Wise, using his vumost exertions to have a commutation of the punishment of Cook, in view of which a meeting is announced to take place in this town mext Monday, to adopt a remonstrance to be forwarded to Gov. Wise, against Executive elemency toward the prisoner. It is thought the expression of the will of the people of this county will go far toward doing away with any sympathy which may have been elicited from Gov. Wise by the friends of Cook.

"The military force at present in this town is very

JOHN BROWN'S INVASION.

Consespendence of The N. Y. Tribune.

Charlestown, Saturday, Nov. 19, 1859.

The CRY IS STILL THEY COME.

One of the servants at my both, who seems to repose confidence in me, said this marriage way and the marriage of the M. E. Church. Brown was approached by a minister of the Presbyterian personsion a few days ago who wished to advice him spiritually. Brown repelled it, saying that he did not working the same God. The minister was a slaveholder.

The town was visited by a heavy storm last evening, rendering sentined duty anything but pleasant.

THE CHARLESTOWN REPORTS.

Free The Richmond Enquirer of Saturday.

The character of the dispatches from Charlestown and Harper's Ferry, received within the last few days and harper and harper

Rumors are also rife that a rescue of the con Rumors are also rife that a rescue of the condemned prisoners is preparing, and that parties with such designs are in the neighberhood; but as yet these reports have had no confirmation. That there are men wicked enough to desire such an effort, we have no doubt, but that any large body of men can be found foolhardy enough to attempt it we very much question. Nevertheless, the Executive will see that the sentence of death is executed upon the criminals, and will provide for every emergency. We would advise all persons to forego the pleasure, if such it be, of witsentence of death is executed upon the criminals, as will provide for every emergency. We would advise all persons to forego the pleasure, if such it be, of witnessing the executions, by staying quietly at home and protecting their property, as well as avoiding an unnecessary risk of their persons, by going to the executions. Especially would we advise Northerners to stay away from Charlestown at the times of the executions, excursions of large bodies of men will not be permitted and it persisted in, will be prevented by actual force Nothing would be easier for a rescuing party than to go to Charlestown as spectators, carrying concealed weapons, and in the confusion of a large crowd to attempt the rescue. To prevent the possibility of such a result, and to protect life while executing the judgment of the Court, a very large body of troops will be on duty at Charlestown on the days of the executions. These troops will protect the execution of the sentence of death from interruption, and will execute summary punishment upon all persons attempting a rescue. In such duty many innocent persons might be injured; hence we would advise all to remain at home.

The Alexandria Gazette of Saturday says:

"A man calling himself Jacob W. Thompson, but

"A man calling himself Jacob W. Thompson, but whose real name is supposed to be Jacob Smith, was committed to jail on Thursday, on the charge of obtaining money under false pretenses. While in jail he was identified by Mr. Jacob Mitchell, a resident of Harper's Ferry, as one of Brown's men.

"Yesterday, Thompson had a further trial before Justice Summers, when the charge of obtaining money under false pretenses was dismissed. He was, however, recommitted to jail to await an examination for being implicated in the Harper's Ferry foray. Witnesses from Harper's Ferry have been sent for, and a further hearing of the case will be had on Monday, if they arrive.

they arrive.

There are other suspicious-looking characters lurking about the city, and some arrests have been made, but no proof being elicited to warrant their de-tention, they were dismissed."

TROOPS UNDER ARMS.

The Martinsburg Gazette of Saturday says:

The Martinsburg Gazette of Saturday says:

"A telegraphic dispatch was received here on Thursday night last by Col. J. B. Hoge, which justified the belief that Northern sympathizers of Osawatomie Brown designed to concentrate their forces at some convenient point with a view to his rescue, whereupon, there being no guard on the northern borders of this county, Leut.-Col. Israel Robinson, in the absence of Col. Sincindiver, detailed the Berkeley Border Guards and placed them on guard, with instructions to arrest all suspicious characters. Subsequently, he being a member of that corps, turned over the command to Col. J. B. Hoge, and to Governor Wise, and took his place in the ranks of the company."

SPEECH OF CASSIUS M. CLAY, ESQ., AT COVINGTON, KY.

'OSAWATOMIE BROWN'S" CASE CONSIDERED-THE RESULTS OF SLAVERY. From The Cincinnati Gazette

Cassius M. Clay, esq., having addressed the people of Covington and Newport, we present a full report

As the speaker took the stand, some person on the edge of the crowd called out in a loud voice, "Osawat-

edge of the crowd caned out in a lead voice, "Gawasomie Brown." Mr. Clay said:
Yes, I will tell you semething about Osawatomie Brown before I am done. [A voice, "Thank you."] If some people in this section of the country don't mend their manners, they will make a great many more Osawatomie Browns than there are. [Laughter

SUSPICIOUS SIGNS. SUSPICIOUS SIGNS.

GENTLEMEN OF COVINGTON — FELLOW-CITIZENS:
When I hast had the honor to address you from this platform, the privilege was asked of me, it being my appointment, by a portion of the Democratic party of Covington, that they should reply on that occasion. You remember that, most certainly. Said I, "Alg though you are not in the habit of asking us to reply the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties." though you are not in the mant of asking us to reply to your orators on such an occasion, it is just such a thing as I have always asked you to do." I have al-ways challenged your party and your men, from the greatest to the lowest, to reply to what I say on any shall be happy to have any of your distinguished men, Mr. Stevenson or Mr. Harris, who is here to-night, to reply to me on this occasion. What was the result ! I don't know upon what authority I have it, but I was told that instead of what authority I have it, that it was told the insection of coming here and availing themselves of my courteous invitation, they drummed up the party, and got a man of the party which boasts the name of Democrat, to go there to keep them from hearing what I had to say. Is not that so?

there to keep them from hearing what I had to say. Is not that so?

Mr. Harris—I never heard of that.

Mr. Clay—Men of Covington, is not that so?

A Voice—That is so.

Mr. Clay—You all know that it is so. Well, new, gentlemen, that looks a little suspicious. You Osawatomic Brown over there, what do you say? [Laughter and applause.] It was a little suspicious to say the least of it. Your orators were a little broken down—spavined—they could not come up to the scratch—they could not make time, as we say in old Kentucky.

You all know that I am a plain man, and when I get an audience before me, I want to talk right to them, without any "hifalutin," and they say if Case. Clay has anything to say, he will talk it plain out, and sometimes too plainly for his own good.

Now, men of Covington, these are no times for illusions. Let every man understand upon what principles he stands; let every man understand with what allurements he is connected; let every man understand in what direction he is going. Why, gentlemen, in ordinary transactions you will not trust a man to do the least thing, so far as pecuniary matters are concerned, without knowing his antecedent; his affiliations, his associations, his character; what his intention are; where he is going to lead you; what he is going to do with your business. And shall it be said that among the only people on earth professing to be entirely froe—Democratic or Republican, I care not—educated people exercising the right of ballot or the ries rece vote, choosing your own representatives, are to follow blindly men who cry "Lo here and lo there!" without knowing what mg your own representatives, are to follow blindly men who cry "Lo here and lo there!" without knowing what manner of men they are. I speak to the humblest laborer to-night; the men that built this shelter to cover us; that hung these hooks; that bring the food to it for our use. Are these questions so mysterious that you cannot understand them ! Are you, late in the day as it is, when threats of violence come upon us to close our mouths, are you willing now to is and find if there be any issue between us worth the consideration of the people, yet, but God o knows how long, free.

mass of the people that I am not in the habit of indule-

A DISTURBER OF THE PEACE. Well, then, Cass. Clay is a disturber of the peace, agitating the subject of Slavery in a Slave State; disturbing old institutions; interfering with the property of the country: a violator of law and order. Well, now, just let us look into that. When the standard of foreign invasion is raised, the authorities of our common country call upon us to rally to its defense, and we fall into line and go into the field of battle, and if, through an ignoranizate far, we desert that standard we fall into line and go into the field of battle, and if, through an ignominious fear, we desert that standard or betray our country, everywhere without distinction of party, men, women, and children, that man is denounced as a traitor to his country; is he not? Then tell me, men of Covington and Newport, if such there be here to night, if you denounce one for falling from the banner of his country, where duty and that eternal allegiance which a man owesto the place of his nativity call him, how much more shall he be infamous in the eyes of men when a greater danger is threatened; call him, how much more shall he be infumous in the eyes of men when a greater danger is threatened; when the liberty of a country, more dear than all property, is in pertl, and a man meanly shirks from the post of danger! An enemy may lay waste your fields; may burn your houses, sack your cities, destroy your property; but when peace is restored, and the prodent hands of industry and economy may soon restore you to your pristine condition; your fields may be planted answ; under the smiles of Providence they will again be filled with grain; your houses will be rebuilt, and your coffers will be replenished. But when the liberty of a people is gone—when the freedom of speech and of the press is stricken down and silenced, who shall restore them to you? OSAWATOMIE BROWN.

OSAWATOMIE BROWN.

Well, now, I come to the answering of this "Osawatomie Brown" affair. I am going to speak plainly and above-board, and without reserve. In my hamble judgment, it has no connection whatever with party associations in these United States, as such. I say it here now, as I will say it ou all occasions, that it is nothing else but a sequence, and fruit foreseen by all sensible men, of that invasion of Kansas by the Southern Pro-Slavery party, united to their Northern allies. If you don't like that, you must come home to your besome and ask there whether it be true. It is a realization of the Seringare truth that that when it was the second don't like that, you must come home to your bosoms and ask there whether it be true. It is a realization of the Scripture truth, that they who "sow the wind, shall reap the whiriwind." It is that, and it is nothing else. Our fathers knew and felt all the exciting accompaniments that have followed in the wake of this institution of Slavery. They foresaw that it would depopulate Kentucky, and the great States of the West and South-West, as it has depopulated Virginia, and as it has partly depopulated Kentucky, and they reserved in the Far West, in the then uninhabited territory, as a home for the free white laborer and his children, as they supposed, forever, against the strong competition of unpaid labor; where, under their own vine and fig tree, they may sit, and none may make them afraid; and they passed, as I told you on a former occasion, this Missouri Compromise, that north of that line of 36° 30', including the Territory of Kansas, the scene of the fend, the scene of all our woe should be consecrated to freemen, and that no slave should pass that line. Who violated that contract? I care not whether it was got up Nouth or South, but it was really got up South. It was consummated by the almost unanimous spirit and conceiners of all the Democratic people of the Northern and Southern States. Who violated it? Who opened up, again, this source of strife, to leave the question the determined as it was, by the rifle, the sword, and science of all the Democratic people of the Northern and Southern States. Who violated it? Who opened up, again, this source of strife, to leave the question to be determined, as it was, by the rifle, the sword, and bloodshed? The Democratic party did it. They are the men who did it. Stephen A. Douglas is the author of that bill, a leading Democrat, so claimed, North and South. Did I not tell you, as I went through here before, there was a "honey-fugling" going on as to whether it should be Douglas or Buchanan? Don't you see the leading papers coming out and taking one side or the other; some for Douglas, and some for Buchanan? Donglas was the man that did it. He is a strong candidate for the Charleston nomination. The Democracy, then, are responsible—not we. They are the agitators, and not we. If bloodshed was the fruin m Kansas of the altempt of the Democratic Administration, contrary to their pledges in the Cincinnati Platform, that they would allow the people of the Territories to determine upon their own institutions for themselves; I say if the Democratic party did, by a Democratic President, violate their pledges, and the people were denied the privilege of free speech and free access to the ballot, driving Old Brown from his settlement, taking possession of his plantation, murdering his sons, and making his daughter mad, who is to blame for the institution of these late steps of bloodshed and violence? It is right you should hear a little wholesome truth in Kentacky—you who are not in the habit of hearing it. I say it is nothing but a personal feud—a guerilla warfare, commenced in Kansas by the Democratic party, and carried on by Brown, upon the principle that wherever he found a shiveholder he should make war upon him. All this assailing of leading men in the country in this connection—all this—I had almost said infamous—attempt to connect leading men with it, is too base even for all the baseness of the Democratic party. So far as I am concerned in any way, in being connected with him, I say to you, m

DESTROVING PRESSES.

Gentlemen, I will say further that this was a fearful thing. For men banded together with the weapons of offense, of destruction, of murder and assassination, to advance within the bounds of a peaceful State, jeopardizing the lives not only of men, but of women and children, disturbing their quietness, which in civilized life we boast above the savage in the swamp, was fearfully no doubt, will the a fearful crime, and most fearfully, no doubt, will the misguided men answer for it. Deep and dark as the shades are, I am not disposed to draw the pencil of light across the dark picture; but mark me now, what I do say, and that which I come here to-night to say, that as much as I condemn these especially to say, that as much as I condemn those men, even so much do I condemn those who would attempt to take away from me the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. [Applanse.] Why, gentlemen, that whole project fell through; why, men of Covington, did it fall through! It fell through because among the race of heredicary bondsmen, degraded by long generations of slavery, the manhood was wanting, when the occasion presented itself, to avail themselves of the liberty offered.

To me, it is a melancholy nighter to see men in the

To me, it is a melancholy picture to see men in the form and nature of men, with all the spirit and soul of manhood gone. The slaves of Virginia could not avail themselves of the opportunity in consequence of this.

God Almichty has determined, when we shall so for God Almighty has determined, when we shall so for-serviency of the slave, that long generations only shall appease his anger for the crimes we have com-mitted. Therefore it is that I stand before you, and proclaim to you, that a greater crime is that which the man attempts to perpetrate against me when he would attempt to stifle the voice of the press, and crush our my freedom of speech. [Applause.] How can you get it back when it has once gone! Is not your orig-inal act a scal which is placed upon you for untold cenerations? EFFECT OF SLAVERY ON WHITE MEN.

Gentlemen, there is another attitude in which that affair presents itself to my mind, and that is the necknockely spectacle the people present. When Gov. Wise arrived at the seat of this affair, and saw that but five or eight were all that had taken possession of a city of 2,600 inhabitants, the United States Arsenal, and had imprisoned from 80 to 100 of the principal citizens of Old Virginia, spreading terror and intimidation through Virginia and Maryland, reaching the very confines of their populous cities, the people standing paralyzed, until a little crowd of United States Marines came into the action and stormed the place, he in great indignation exclaimed, "I had rather both arms and both legs" should be severed frem my body, than this disgrace tion exclaimed, "I had rather both arms and both legs" should be severed frem my body, than this disgrace "had come upon Old Virginia." There is the rab. There is the moral of the whole tale told at once. Virginia does not lack courage. There did not fail to be a gallant spirit in town. The blood of 1776 had not ran out in Virginia. She is not wanting in courage, but, there was this universal cause of all our weakness lying beneath and around her. The man was paralyzed because he lad to look to his own wife and children before he could think of Harper's Ferry and the and find if there be any issue between us worthy of the people of this county will go far toward doing away with any sympathy which may have been glicitied from 600. Wise by the friends of Cook.

"The military force at present in this town is very strong, with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and toward doing away with any sympathy which may have been glicitied from 600. Wise by the friends of Cook.

"The military force at present in this town is very strong, with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and toward and different force at the considerable of the command of the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with the strong and the strong with a prospect of a large addition to-slay and the strong with the decaration of the strong with the decaration of the strong with the decaration of the strong with the strong with the decaration of the strong with the strong wit lyzed because he had to look to his own wife and children before he could think of Harper's Ferry and the public good. That is the reason why I have, again again, in season and, as it were, out of season, at all hazards of reputation and life, destruction of properly and family, cried out against this institution—it being the only cloud hanging over our prosperity; the only dark spot, the expansion of which may end in the destruction of our people. Again and again I have said that it was a cause of weakness in the State, that all history had proved it. I have called attention to the fact, that in the Roman Empire, infected with the same kind of institution, as Gibbon tells us, the barbarians came down and sacked the principal cities, and took possession of their land, even while it was held by the most gaillant people the the world had seen, a people

I recollect something of the same kind, which I may relate, as we have a detorian here. It is a vircumrelate, as we have a lestorian here. It is a circumstance that occurred when Lycurgus was marching against one of the Eastern tyrants, who was in the habit of having lis own way presty much. He heard from a herald that the Romans were marching toward him, with Liegion or two. For bringing this ill news, his head was taken off. Again another told this kingthat the Romans were approaching; he ordered his bead to be taken off. This continued until, at last, none were to be found so bold as to tell him of the coming event. Then the king looked out himself, and he saw the legions of Rome following Lycurgus. "Why," said he, "who are they! If they are embase sadors, they are too many; and if soldiers, too few; but soon to his cost he found they were not too few, as he fied before the face of his conqueror. Yes! who are they! These Republicans I mean. You have a great contempt for them now, but you will find they are much more numerous—much larger after a while. "If they come as soldiers, they are too few." Remember the larger was the highest party of the more was the larger was the party of the more was the free of his conqueror. Yes! who are they! These Republicans I mean. You have a great contempt for them now, but you will find they are much more numerous—much larger after a while. "If they come as soldiers, they are too few." Remember the factor more agreed with his myrings of men was "if they come as soldiers, they are too few." Remember the Eastern monarch with his myriads of men was put to flight in two or three hours. That only shows that bad news, although unwelcome, is nevertheless

frequently true.

Well, gentlemen, all the people of the United States are not over in Covington or Newport, [laughter and applause.] along that side of the market especially (referring to Newport). There are some people also north of the Ohio River, and these people are determined, in I believe every State except one, that the Republican party is a party—the "nigger party" if you please. You have cried "nigger! nigger! in Pennsylvania, in New-York, in Minnesota, and all returned back upon you, and you have been discovered to be the party disposed to sacrifice all the rights of the white man for the nigger—you are "weighed in the balance, and found wanting." That is the truth about it, and I tell you, your time draws nigh. The day of your rule is about to cease. This Republican party is going into power in 1880, and our Democratic friends begin to see the wind; they are very shrewd politicians. (I will pay them that compliment,) they understand which way the popular majority is going, they are almost ready to acknowledge before the people, and in their presses, that the Republican party is going to take the Presidency in 1861.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION. Now, what dodge are you going to try to get over that? You would suppose they would dodge into every known corner, would you not? What dodges have they tried? First, you know Slavery was a local institution, and Congress had no right to interfere with it. That was once the Democratic doctrine. Then the next pretension was that Congress had a right to interfere, and could repeal the Missouri Compromise. That was another dodge. The next was that the people had a right to settle the question for themselves. That was another dodge. As soon as they tried that with "Old Brown," and it failed, they came back to the old dodge again, that Congress did have the right to interfere with it, and had a right to pass a law admitting Kansas as a Siave State, and came back to the old dodge again, that Congress did have the right to interfere with it, and bad a right to pass a law admitting Kansas as a Slave State, and saving to the people of Kansas, if you will come in as a Slave State, you shall have so much money; but if not, you shall not come in without a certain population, and perhaps not then; we will consider about it when the time comes. "Popular Sovereignty" would not do. "Douglas, you are a squeezed ordinge, and we will throw you away." Then came another dodge: The United States Courts came in and did their part. That would not do, and now the dodge is, if we elect a President of the United States by a popular vote—by the will of the greatest number—if we, by the great popular, constitutional majority of the law-and-order men, elect a President, leaving the majority to you—you say you will dissolve the Union. Let us look at that a while—this new dodge for 1860. If you elect a Republican President "we will dissolve the Union." Who are set! Let us look at that. "We," the slaveholders, the number one, might, under some foolish prejudices, think that "we" could do better by dissolving the Union; but what are you, the twenty men of Kentucky, going to do! Why dissolve the Union! Answer me that. We, the Republicans, say that in the Free Territories of our common country there shall be a place reserved for you and your children, in case misfortune, or slave competition, shall drive you from your homes into exile, into some new country, as it has sent millions, where you shall be untrammeled and undegraded again by laboring alongside the unpaid slaves. For this you are going to dissolve the Union.

Well, now, that reminds me of an anecdote that I

alongside the unpaid slaves. For this you are going to dissolve the Union.

Well, now, that reminds me of an anecdote that I need to hear in old Madison. There is a good-natured old grandmother who had all her children grown up and married off, and a little grandchild used to come and see her. Well, when this child wanted anything of her grandmother, and she found she could not prevail on her good feelings, she would exercise on her fears. When the old lady refused to give her anything she wanted, she would go to the top of the stairs and say. "Now, grandmother, give it me, or I will throw

she wanted, she would go to the top of the stairs and say, "Now, grandmother, give it me, or I will throw myself down stairs;" and the good woman would be much moved, and would say, "Don't, honey, come and get it; don't, for God's sake, throw yourself down stairs!" Is there any man who is a laborer who does not feel that this thing of Slavery is degrading to him! Is there any that does not feel this! Have I not felt it! Have not my children felt it since I have been hrown into this new attitude of non-slaveholder—and now are you going to throw yourselves down stairs!

THE FOOLISH FOOLS.

In the first place, let us look to the slaveholders themselves. They are not all fools—though some of them are the biggest fools that I ever saw, because they belong to the class of "foolish fools;" and, as the old man said, "the d—d foolish fools;" and, as the old man said, "the d—d foolish fools" he could not stand, and being asked what they were, he said they were the fools who did not know it, or who boasted of it. Gentlemen, the whole cotton crop, that is said to be King, that is said to do the commercial exchanges at home and abroad, without which the world would come to an end, is nothing. The census shows that cotton cuts but a small figure as a production of the United States, it being but one-thirteenth of the whole. Why, the insignificant thing of hay, that it. come to an end, is nothing. The census shows that cotton cuts but a small figure as a production of the United States, it being but one-thirteenth of the whole. Why, the insignificant thing of hay, that Gen. Shelby said he would not raise—a little dry grass, as he called it—is produced in larger quantities. If any man tells me cotton is king, I tell him it is no such thing. Hay is king. Well, the cotton crop is about eighty millions of value. Well, gentlemen, the Government expended eighty millions during the last year, and we all thought that was large; even the Democratic party thought that was large; even the Democratic party thought that was too large a sum. Well, now, suppose you dissolve the Union—suppose you have succeeded, as Gen. Wise proposes, in taking Harper's Ferry (by the way, Brown has Harper's Ferry), and you take Washington and the archives; how are you to maintain it! Does any man say that the Southern Confederacy will not have to have a larger internal police, a larger marine, and a larger navy, when they have not only to stand against the powers of France and Great Britain, but the whole of the Free North. There is no man of common sense but will admit that the expenses of such a Government will have to be larger than they are now. Foot it up. When you have paid the expenses of your internal police, of your Southern Union, of your foreign navy, of your home army, of course it will make more than eighty millions. That is to say, when your whole crop has been sold, providing always that you sell it successfully, you have spent every dollar of the income to preserve the peace, and you have not a single dollar of the income cessfully, you have spent every dollar of the income to preserve the peace, and you have not a single dollar with which to buy pork and beans, and your niggers

KENTUCKY AND DISSOLUTION.

Well, then, I say, if the slaveholders were, by any fanaticism or talse ideas of prosperity, induced to go into such a scheme as that, what has Kentucky to gain by it? There is not a slaveholder in the Commonwealth, foolish fools as some of them are, that believes he could hold a single slave in this State. A civil war first must be maintained in a Slave State, and the border States must be the scene of war at that, and when there is a battle-field, the cavalry are tied in the streets. there is a battle-field, the cavulry are tied in the street of Covington, your fine houses are destroyed, you property is wasted, and as to your slaves, they are all gone. Of course they must be given up, your property runs down, your naties are taken, and your horses killed, and though you should be successful, you would be well known as the Flanders of America.

Why are we, then, to join in such a proceeding as that? Why, there is not in the plan any possibility or contingency by which Kentucky would or could be

benefited by the disunion, when all their privileges, property, and liberty, now preserved under this glo-rious Union, would be given up, lost, and destroyed

forever.

Men of Kentucky, there is no resurrection among nations. If any one truth has been determined by listory, it is this—that there is a period of youth, of adelescence, of manhood, of deeny, and of death among ations. When that death comes, the nation is never gain to be resurrected. This is developed in history, the current of particular from the remoter's surtracing the career of nations from the remotest an-STATE RIGHTS.

Well, gentlemen, what do we ask you to do? As a Republican party, we do not ask you to become emancipationists. Everybody knows here, that I am an emancipationist. You may call it abolitionist if you please; you all know, however, that I am opposed to Stavery, and in favor of Freedom; that I am in favor of defending the rights of the white man, and not of slave labor and the black man exclusively. Is that abolitionism? If so, I am one. I believe that justice is the foundation of all prosperity in man, and that all is the foundation of all prosperity in man, and that all men are entitled to freedom in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. Yet I have been and am willing all the time, as I have proclaimed here and elsewhere, to leave this question to be determined by the majority of the people in the States themselves. That is my doctrare. If you like the term of abolitionism as one to

apply to it, I care not, so long as you understand the nature of the thing. As Republicans, we do not come to you as to battle. We say that the National Government is supreme in its sphere, and we are States Rights men, law-abiding men, as we have said in our resolutions this day. It may be that you will see those resolutions, for it may be that you will see those resolutions, for it may be that some of our Democratic friends will have the magnanimity to publish them, if they have a Democratic paper near here, but such things are very scarce in Democratic communities.

We say that the National Government has no right to say to South Carolina or Kentucky, You shall have slaves, or you shall be free; but we say to them, if you love liberty, the freedom of the press and of speech, the development of the resources of your country; if you desire to see manufactures built up, and love to see the properity of the white race, instead of building up a degenerated malatto race as is going on in the Skave States, do so; but we do say, that under the Constitution of the United States, established by our fathers for the promotion of the happiness of themselves and their posterity, we will maintain the territory of this Union, now acquired and forever hereafter to be acquired, free from this weak institution that has brought Maryland and Virginia to shame and to the blush before the world; that we will not allow any territory, where we have the power, to possess Slavery, as is our sworn duty. If you choose to call that niggerism, I am for niggerism.

I am told Mr. Hogan wishes to reply to me after I get through. Most certainly, Mr. Hogan.

Mr. Hogan—It is all a mistake.

Mr. Clay—I beg the gentleman's pardon. I was just now told that it was so.

If any of our friends on the left choose to come up into old Madison and establish a paper there advocating that this country shall be taken from the white man, I will say, let him; let him publish anything, and we will pledge ourselves up there never to get up a panie; we won't mob

THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION."

I have spoken of the National Republican party. Look at what I have said, in a rational view. In the first place, is it not right, according to the Democratic rule! Their idea, they say, is the good of the greatest number. If it turns out, then, that the white people are the majority, their interests ought to be subserved. That is the doctrine they preach, but not the one they practice. All along here in the Slave States they say our institutions are peculiar. If Slavery, and freedom of the press, and of speech, cannot exist together, it is indeed a peculiar institution—devilish peculiar. It is an institution, morever, that you can't talk about without anger to somebody. Well, we say we don't want any more of so very peculiar an institution.

A Voice—Set your niggers free.

Mr. Clay—They are, and now I want to do the next best thing. I want to set those fellows that call themselves Democrats, free—for God knows they need it more than the niggers. Now, gentlemen, if you will allow me to tell you, niggers get a good master sometimes; but your masters neither feed nor clothe you, but put their hands in the exchequer to take out the contents, and the devil a bit of it do they give to you poor fellows. I have often thought of this, as I have seen Cuffy, black and sleek, working in the field, and then have seen the lazy, dirty, lousy Democrat, unfed and ragged, halloaing: "Hurrah for Democracy and damn Niggerism."

and ragged, halloaing: "Hurrah for Democracy and damn Niggerism."

Gentlemen, I have said enough. If all these truths, presented to you in this plain, unvarnished style, so that you all can understand them, and comprehend them, do not move you, no logical deductions that may be drawn by fancy can. If, with all this living experience before you, of that institution which has driven your forefathers and you from the Atlantic slope, and which will drive you until you cross the plains of the Far West, and seek the shores of the Pacific, you are not moved; if the marks of eternal prosperity and progress exhibites in and by the Free States of the Union, in the unparalleled increase of population and wealth, railroads and canals, vessels at home and at sea; if the admiration of the world, centered upon the great States of the Free North, and above all the great school-houses and churches—living evidences that God Almighty has declared that the unjust thing of Slavery shall not prosper—do not move you, what that God Almgny has declared that the unjust using of Slavery shall not prosper—do not move you, what can! I say that you should hang upon my words, and listen to anything that I should be able to offer.

The speaker, making an effort to sit down, was in-

errupted by a question as to the intention of the Republican party upon obtaining power. He replied in anguage similar to that used heretofore in the of his remarks.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE TERROR.

Anonymous letters in mourning envelopes, we have information, are being sent through the Newport Post-Office to Republican residents of that town, warning them to take their leave of the soil of Kentacky. Mr. J. R. Whitemore, a quiet gentleman who resides in Newport, has received a communication, of which the following is a copy:

Newport, Nov. 16, 1859.

following is a copy:

Nawport, Nov. 16, 1859.

J. R. Whittenore—Ser: The citizens of Newport have decided that they will no longer permit any person to promulgat such "principles" as you and your brethren in the case. Abolitionism have been promulgating for the last four years it their city. Therefore, you are hereby notified to leave the Cit of Newport on or before the first day of December, 1859. One twise, you must shide the consequences of your own folly an obstinacy, which we assure you will be serious.

The first count of the indictment against Danenburg in Norfolk, charges him with having used the words, "John Brown was a good man, and was fighting in a "good cause, and did nothing but what any other "honest man would do." The second count charges that he had uttered the following expressions: "John "Brown was fighting in a good cause" (meaning that he was fighting in the cause of the slave against the waster) "and that owners have no right of property in

he was fighting in the cause of the slave against the master), "and that owners have no right of property in 'their slaves;" and said that "Brown did nothing but 'what any other honest man would do."

A Vicksburgh paper says that a school teacher "from 'the land of wooden nutmegs was tarred and feathered 'and rode on a rail the other day at Helena, and then 'set adrift on the turbid waters of the Mississippi on a 'log, for ventilating his views rather too freely concerning the peculiar institution." "Served him 'right," adds the journalist. right," adds the journalist.

How Mississippi proposes to force out of her jurisdiction all free negroes, and to rob them besides, as some compensation to herself for the terror thep have made her suffer, the following act, now on its passage through her Legislature, will too well show:

through her Legislature, will too well show:

A Bill to Erclude Free Negroes from the State.

Sucrost J. He it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Maissirippi, That from and after the 1st day of July, 1820, it shall be unlawful for any free negro, or mulatto, to be found in this State, under any pretense whatsoever, and every free negro or mulatto, so found, may be indicted in any county where found, or in any adjoiring county, and, on conviction, shall be sold into absolute Slavery. The Sheriff of the proper county shall sell such negro, or mulatto, at the door of the court-house of his county, for each, after giving such notice as the Court shall direct, and shall pay the net proceeds of sale into the treasury of the county, where the indictment was found.

Sec 2. Be it further canacted, That if any person shall, by pretending to be owner or by any other means, endeavor to shield or protect any free ners or mulatto against the provisions of this act, such person so oriending shall be used in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six ments.

munitis.

Size. 3 Re is forther enacted. That in an indictment under this act, proof that the negro or mulatte acted as if free shall be sufficient prima force evidence of the lact.

Size. 4. Re is further canceted, that if the owner of any slave, shall permit such slave to hire his or her time, or otherwise act free, ruch owner shall be fined not exceeding \$1,000. And such slave may be indicted and sold as a free negro unlawfully in the State.

the State.

Sec. 5. Be it further exacted, That free negroes and mulattons are hereby declared anexpable of inheriting, acquiring, or holding any property in this State; nor shall any property be removed from the State for the benefit of any such person.

ACCOUNTED FOR .- Perhaps the burning of hay stacks and the attendant excitement, may be accounted for in the following paragraph, published by The Baltimore American. If the pike trade started at Har-per's Ferry has dagged, it is but natural that some means would be adopted to give it an impetus;

"Ever since Brown's raid upon Virginia, Harper's
Ferry has been a point of special interest to travelers
upon the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The few minutes' stoppage of the trains there is devoted to curious utes' stoppage of the trains there is devoted to curious looks at the Armory buildings, and to an inspection of the marks left by Sharp's role builtets on the surrounding buildings. This curiosity has been turned to account by the sales of trophies from the field of buttle, Old Brown's pikes forming the principal staple, which were presented in bristing array as the trains drew up, and passengers solicited to 'buy an Osawatomie pike.' For some time the genuine article was plenty, and many passengers carried off in triumph specimens of those anuderon-looking weapons. The demand, however, cutlasted the supply, and a speculative genius of the town entered into the manufacture of a counterfeit article, and pikes costing 75 cents were readily sold for \$2 and \$3."

RETURN OF FORCION DEAD LETTERS-IMPORTANT Strokes flow to Postmasters.—We are requested to call the attention of postmasters to the importance of endorsing the reason of non-delivery upon all letters from foreign countries, which, from any cause, cannot be delivered to the person addressed, and are, therefore, sent to the dead letter office to be returned. The omission to make such endorsements has caused nuomission to make such endorsements has caused nu-nerous inquiries, sometimes accompanied by com-claints, from Foreign Post-Office Departments respecting the causes of non-delivery of letters; and if post-masters will attend to the above suggestion, it will be the means of saving much correspondence. [Washington Coastitution.

ONE DAY LATER FROM MEXICO. SEIZURE OF THE \$1,800,000 CONDUCTA-PO-LITICAL NEWS, &c.

LITICAL NEWS, &c.

From The New-Orienne Picapune, Nov. 5, p. m.

City of Mexico, Nov. 5, p. m.

I have already written you of the seisure, by Marquez, at Gundaliajara, of a specie conducta of \$1,800,000, en route to the Pacific. Full particulars of the whole affair, documents and all, have come to hand by the Southern express mail. One of those is a decree over Marquez's own signature, in which the bold robber openly avows the act, and says:

"That on account of the troubled state of the Republic and the vandalism of the Liberal party, he finds it accessary to have in his possession \$600,000 of the money, to put an end to the snarchy which reigns in the country, and therefore he takes from the canducts the above mentioned sam, which certainly could not be employed in a more advantageous marmer."

The n xt day, grown somewhat bolder, he issued a proclamation, in which he says:

"As it is possible that \$600,000 may not be sufficient to accompits so descrable an object, he will for the present keep in his possession and hold at his disposition the remainder (\$1,200,000) of the conducts, so that in case of need he may immediately use it for the purpose of restoring peace and happiness to his beloved country.

Miramon left on the morning of the 4th, for Guadala-

Miramon left on the morning of the 4th, for Guadala.

Miramon left on the morning of the 4th, for Guadalajara. He left here at one o'clock, in the stage coach,
with three aides-de-camp. This is a bold move on the
part of Miramon, and its object, still unknown, is either
extremely noble, or quite the reverse. He either goes
to Guadalajara to prevail upon Marquez to deliver up
the conducta, or for the purpose of dividing the spoils
with the robber. It is whispered that a large part of
the conducta belonged to Miramon, who was attempting to get his gains out of the country, under the name
of Justo. At all events, Miramon runs great risk. His
read passes by Guanajando and Queretaro, both of
which places have fallen into the hands of the Liberals,
If he falls in with any of these last, they will speedily
revenge on his person the assassination of Tacubaya.
On the other hand, Marquez is not a very easy customer to deal with, and would not think much of putting
Miramon ont of his way, if such an act could serve his
purpose.

Miramon out of his way, if such an act could serve his purpose.

There is a possibility that Marquez may soon come to Mexico. If such an event takes place, were to the foreigners residing in this city. Marquez will butcher them most unmercifully. There will be but one of two things to be done by the foreign population—either speedily leave the capital, abandoning their houses and property to pillage, or make a stand, and, arming theme was, prevent the assassin from entering the city. My her is that the foreigners here, principally the French and English, will resort to the last alternative. They have not yet mixed in the revolutions of the country, because, had as it has been, there was still the apology of a Government and a head of the Republic. But if Marquez and his rubble approach the place, there will not be the smallest excuse for their remaining inactive. Marquez is an outlaw, a bandit, an assassin, and considered as such by all nations; and if he approaches, all men that have anything to lose must fear.

Mr. Allegen the British Consul, has succeeded in

tions; and if he approaches, all men that have anything to lose must fear.

Mr. Allsopp, the British Consul, has succeeded in escaping from his prison at Tepic and taken refuge on board the Amethyst, an English frigate, at San Blas. Two English vessels entered the port of San Blas laden with goods for the house of Baron, Forbes & Co., at Tepic. They were seized by Coronada. The captain of the Amethyst immediately demanded them, and on Coronada's refusal to deliver them sent his boats to cut them out. The citadel fired on the boats. The Amethyst then gave the Mexicans a fair broadside, knocking them over like terrapins on the beach; after knocking them over like terrapins on the beach; after which the two merchantmen were cut out.

The news of the specie seizure has caused a fremendous excitement here, especially among the leading merchants and bankers, to whom the money principally belongs. It has finally broken up the famous \$15,000,000 loan from Jecker & Co., of which you have heard so much, and which was in part about height contracted.

being contracted.

Miramon took only an escort of fifty men with him. His friends seem to entertain fears for him; but it's all a mystery. No one knows anything positively here, till he rees it.

Foreigners are bitterly denounced in the daily papers of the city, and some think it is high time to begin to

act on the defensive.

It is rumored and believed here that Marquez has already, or will very soon, pronounce for himself, with a clear-grit Clergy platform. The clergy will stand by him to the last. Already they speak or him as their

by him to the last. Already they speak of him as their only hope.

The British Minister has demanded restilution of Marquez for shooting Chase, and will unquestionably move from here at once, should Marquez be declared President.

The escape of the British Consul at Tepic is confirmed. The other Consuls are still in prison. Mr. Mathews has sent his Secretary to Juarez to demand immediate reparation for these outrages.

The Constitutionalists have taken Guanajuato, and are again moving toward the capital. The moment is opportune, and if they act promptly the war may be ended in a week; but I have no hopes.

The clergy report the success of their soldiers over those of Oanaca, but great doubts are entertained.

The Government here remains in the hands of the Cabinet Council—Munoz, Ledo, and Corona.

The Chernavaca assassinations are to be made the subject of a strong representation by next mail. They were certainly of the most atrocious character.

The country is in a condition that surpasses description. Robberies and assassinations are the topics of ur conversation.

FROM CHILL.

EARTHQUAKE IN COPIAPO. The Panama Star of the 16th inst. contains later in-telligence from Chili, the most important items of which relate to a severe shock of an earthquake, at 8 a. m. on the 5th October, which was felt throughout the republic, but most severely in the province of

Copiapo.

The direction of the shock was from south-east to The direction of the shock was from south-east of north-west, and its duration, it is said, about four minutes, having caused considerable damage in the City of Copiapo and the port of Caldera, overthrowing some buildings and leaving a great many others in a rainous condition, but fortunately we have not heard of any The Copia o and Caldera railway has suffered some damage, but its repair will be easy, and not very ex-

damage, but its repair will be easy, and not very expensive.

In Caldera the sea retreated several times from the const, leaving a beach of 150 yards, which caused a panic among the inhabitants, who flew affrighted to the neighboring hills; fortunately the sea returned to its place without any violence, and did not occasion the least disaster.

We have been assured that after the first shock the earth continued in unceasing motion; and, accerting to the observations made, the number of shocks in the lapse of 18 hours after the first great one was not less than 116.

Still we have no very great losses to deplore, and the Province of Atacama will soon recover with the produce of its mines, which are stated to be in a very rich condition.

Señor Novoa, ex-Intendente of Valparaiso, has been appointed Minister of Finance, in place of Don Matiass Ovelle, resigned some time since.

New and rich mines of copper and silver had been discovered at Tartal, north of Copiapo, and several surveying parties had left to explore them.

DR. CHEEVER AT WORCESTER, MASS Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune. WORCESTER, Mass., Nov. 15, 1859.

The Rev. Dr. CHEEVER of your city-one of the favorites of our lecture-going public-lectured here last evening to a large and highly-interested audience. His subject was "John Brown and the Lessons de-"ducible from the Harper's Ferry Tragedy." It was treated with all the clearness of statement, irresistible power of argument, fertility of illustration, and earnestness and eloquence of appeal for which the Doctor is so distinguished. We have had lecture after lecture and sermon from the same text, but this discourse of Dr. Cheever's apparently made an unusually deep im-

The character of Brown, the morality of his desperate enterprise, the wickedness of Slavery, and the duty of every church and every Christian, were set forth in passages of great eloquence, and with striking

Whatever may be thought of Dr. Cheever in New-Wi afever may be thought of Dr. Cheever in New-York, the fact is andemiable that he has very many admirers here. They love him for his manly courage, his self-zaerafice, the scrupulous exactness with which he adheres to principle, his fiery indignation against all inhumanity, the terrible sublimity with which be thunders and lightens against the black giant of the Southin a word, for his fidelity to God and man. How such a man towers up above the pusillanimous, time-serving flunkeys that occupy so many of our pulpits, with their hand at our purse-strings and their eye on the weathercock! God speed him! a brave, true man.

The Georgia State Agricultural Society, after award ing at their recent Fair first premiums to several implements and machines exhibited by Emery Brothers of Albany, N. Y., publicly announced that the money would not be paid, as the Society were determined to pay no more premiums to Northern machines.

-Mr. Logan, the defeated Republican candidate for Congress from Oregon, has given notice that he will contest the election of Mr. Stont, the returned member.